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ABSTRACT

The literature emphasizes that achievement motivation depends on a generalized desire to accomplish a given task; it does not deal with the issue of whether or not a culture values the appropriate behavior. This study investigated possible cultural and sex differences in achievement motivation from a bicultural perspective. This research: (1) examined and compared the incentive for achievement motivation of 480 fourth and sixth grade Mexican-American and Anglo-American students in three diverse school districts in California; and, (2) examined the relationship between language dominance as a possible indicator of acculturation and mode of achievement motivation. The results indicated a statistically significant difference between Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans and between males and females in mode of achievement motivation. Unexpectedly, in the academic setting, Anglo-American females showed a relatively lower need to achieve for self than Mexican-American females. The results from the language usage assessment indicated that sex was a more reliable predictor of achievement motivation than language dominance. The educational implications of this study are discussed. (Author/AMH)

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A BICULTURAL APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

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The Problem

Current assessment measures for achievement motivation have given limited attention to the distinction between the motive to achieve and the manner in which this motive is actualized--dependent on culturally approved means and ends. In contrast, the achievement motivation literature emphasizes that achievement depends on a generalized desire to achieve; it does not deal with the issue of whether or not a culture values the appropriate achievement behavior--this study does. For example, initial studies of achievement motivation conducted with white, middle-class males showed that high need achievers valued achievement for self (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark & Lowell, 1953). In contrast, studies conducted in this area with Japanese Americans showed that high need achievers were more inclined to pursue goals benefiting others, particularly the family. Success for oneself was seen as a sign of excessive immoral egoism (DeVos, 1968). According to Maehr (1974) the desire to achieve is often confounded with the goal to achieve. This results in the possibility that one might exhibit behaviors characteristic of highly motivated persons, only directed to different goals which are acceptable in one culture, but not in another.

Within the current assessment framework for achievement motivation, children from different ethnic groups tend to be classified as low in need achievement (Carpenter, 1967; Coleman, et al, 1966; Heller, 1966, 1971; Mingione, 1965; Rosen, 1959). The problem may be due to the fact that current assessment procedures are so culture-bound that they sample

instances of achievement motivation associated with a given culture. It should be remembered that persistence and variation in performance are not the sole property of individuals in any given culture. In fact they are universal behavior patterns assumed to exist to the same degree across cultural groups (DeVos, 1968; Maehr, 1974). Variations may be found, however, in the incentives for motivation, i.e., why does an individual want to achieve? In order to best assess the variations in incentives for motivation in a cross-cultural study it is necessary to introduce the concept of biculturalism as it relates to the study of achievement motivation.

The Concept of Biculturalism

The concept of biculturalism relates directly to the reality that countless children must learn to deal with the cultural worlds of home and school. According to Valentine (1970) with regard to Black Americans:

> Biculturalism strongly appeals to us as a key concept for making sense out of ethnicity and related matters: the collective behavior and social life of the Black community is bicultural in the sense that each Afro American ethnic segment draws upon both a distinctive repertoire of standardized Afro American group behavior, and simultaneously, patterns derived from the mainstream cultural system of Euro American derivation. Socialization in both systems begins at an early age, continues throughout life, and is generally of equal importance in most individuals' lives. (p. 7)

The central theoretical premise of bicultural development is that there are two different but equally important sociocultural systems which influence the behavior of the individual (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974). Polgar (1960), for example, found that people living on a

Mesquakie Indian reservation regularly go through a process which he termed "biculturation." That is, they are simultaneously socialized in two different ways of life, a contemporary form of their traditional Amerindian lifeways and the mainstream Euro American culture.

The concept of biculturalism has important implications for the theory of achievement motivation (Castañeda, 1973). Any viable cross-cultural assessment of the motive to achieve must analyze the problem in terms of two sociocultural systems, school and home. According to DeVos (1968) and Findling (1971) achievement motivation is affected by a constellation of situations in which the individual motive states are expressed. One can argue that the preferred mode of achievement, i.e., for the benefit of self and/or others, may vary depending upon the cultural values which define the achievement setting. The bicultural child may be socialized to achieve for the benefit of others in the home setting, while in the school setting he is socialized to achieve for the benefit of self. For example, the bicultural child from a culture that values achievement for home and family, such as the traditional Mexican (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974) and Japanese (Caudill and DeVos, 1956) cultures, may express a high need to achieve for the family, concommitant with a high need to achieve for self in the school setting. Thus this study is more concerned with the identification of the preferred mode of achievement in a culturally defined setting, rather than the mere identification of children as high or low need achievers.

Bicultural Achievement Motivation Scale

In order to assess bicultural achievement motivation a questionnaire-type scale, originally developed by Castañeda, Gray and Garcia (1973) has

been used to assess and identify the preferred mode of achievement motivation; i.e., achievement for the benefit of self and achievement for the benefit of others. The results from this scale will enable, for example, the identification of Mexican American children who exhibit a strong preference for both modes; i.e., achievement for others and self, as a function of the particular achievement setting. The scale permits assessment of the absolute as well as the relative strength of each motive.

Language Usage as a Correlate of Acculturation

In a study of this nature it is important to examine both intercultural and intracultural sources of variability with regard to the Mexican American population (Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974). These researchers contend that the use of Spanish and English can be associated with the degree to which the family or group adheres to the traditional Mexican value system and follows the traditional socialization practices with their young. They have provided a useful analysis of the community which illuminates the intracultural sources of variability among the Mexican American population. The variability within the community is evident when one examines values, socialization practices and language usage which result in differences in cognitive styles, human relational styles and incentives for achievement motivation. Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) have identified three main communities: traditional, dualistic, and atraditional. Table 1 presents a summary of the main characteristics identified with each type of Mexican American community. Each community is described in terms of its general characteristics, degree of identification

TABLE I

A Summary of Characteristics of Traditional, Dualistic, and Atraditional Communities

Traditional Community	Dualistic Community	Atraditional Community
This community is generally situated in a rural setting, close to the Mexico-United States border. It is ethnically homogeneous in population. There is a strong sense of identification with the traditional Mexican value system, rather than the dominant Anglo culture. Children who are socialized in this community develop a strong sense of family importance and are encouraged to accept a responsibility to help the family whenever possible. These children are encouraged to achieve through a cooperative reward structure for the benefit of the family, community and ethnic group. The principal medium of communication is Spanish for both adults and children. Children will be expected to respond in Spanish to authority figures in the community irrespective of their language proficiency in English.	This community is generally situated in a semi-urban setting, removed from the border. It is ethnically heterogeneous. There is a moderate sense of identification with the traditional Mexican value system which is counterbalanced by a substantial amount of pressure to acculturate into the majority Anglo value system. There is a strong identification with family and peer group, but a weak community and ethnic group tie. Children who are socialized in this setting may fall into the category of a bicultural individual. These children are familiarized with both the cooperative and competitive mode of achievement. The principal language of adults is Spanish while the primary language of children is usually English. Children will generally be familiar with Spanish and exhibit some degree of bilingual proficiency. They may be expected to respond to some authority figures, i.e., grandparents, in Spanish.	This community is situated in an urban setting, with a substantial distance from the border. Mexican Americans comprise a minority in the community. There is a limited degree of family ties outside of the nuclear unit. Due to the limited number of Mexican Americans, there is also a lessening of ethnic cohesiveness. Interpersonal relationships with peers may have greater importance to the child than family ties. Independence training is considered important in the socialization practices of this community. A concern for independence, a limited ethnic identification and limited commitment to mutual cooperation all increase the probability of a preference for a competitive reward structure in the achievement setting.

with family, community and ethnic group and language usage behavior.

It is important to note that these classifications are not absolute. Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) note that some communities do not fit into any one particular category. Furthermore, not all Mexican American residents of the same community maintain the same value systems as have been outlined. Yet, the values, socialization goals, and language usage as discussed here are those most frequently noted in these community settings, and are useful for analysis of language usage as it relates to degree of individual acculturation and subsequent expression of incentive motivational styles.

Several other studies have focused on the relationship between an individual's verbal behavior and degree of acculturation in a particular society (See Barker, 1974; Friedrich, 1965; Heyden, 1966; Hofman, 1968; Lambert, 1972; Lieberson, 1965; Mackey, 1967; Nahirny and Fishman, 1965; Royal Commission, 1967; and Rustow, 1968). These studies support the theory that language usage[1] within a cultural group is one possible indicator of:

1) Degree of acculturation,
2) Frequency and extent of intergroup contacts, and
3) Other similar dimensions of sociocultural integration between neighboring populations.

In this study a Language Usage Index was developed to assess the language behavior of the Mexican American children. It is based on a

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[1]Language usage is defined by Fishman (1966) as "who speaks what language to whom and when."

scale devised by Fishman and Terry (1966).

Relationship Between Language Usage Index and Bicultural Achievement Motivation Scale

It is important to discuss the possible relationship between language usage as a correlate of acculturation and achievement motivation.

This study will examine the correlation between language behavior and preferred mode of achievement. It is hypothesized that the traditional individual, as measured by the Language Usage Index (LUI), will exhibit a stronger orientation to achieve for others than for self (particularly in the case of the Mexican American female in the home setting). Conversely, the dualistic individual, as measured by the LUI, will exhibit both modes of achievement motivation: achievement for self and achievement for others. The atraditional individual as measured by the LUI will tend to exhibit a stronger orientation to achieve for self (particularly in the case of the Mexican American male in the home setting).

The Sample

The sample of students selected for the study consisted of 480 elementary school students. A minimum of 20 Mexican American and 20 Anglo American students were chosen from a minimum of two classrooms of fourth and two classrooms of sixth graders from each of two schools in each of three districts: Cucamonga, Pasadena, and Berkeley. The classrooms were selected if: (1) At least 40% and not more than 60% of the students were Mexican American, and (2) There was no more than a 40%-60% male-female split.

Results and Conclusions

The purpose of this section is threefold: (1) to review the intent of this study within the context of the main findings; (2) to consider some possible modifications of this study for further research and (3) to discuss the implications of this study for educational policy.

Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to examine possible cultural and sex differences in achievement motivation from a bicultural perspective. The problem was approached on two levels. Theoretically, a bicultural model of achievement motivation was presented to explain the socio-cultural origins of differences in mode of achievement (for the benefit of self and others). This model examines the phenomenon of achievement motivation in terms of the values inculcated in the child from two sociocultural systems: home and school. It enables the identification of the preferred mode of achievement, for the benefit of self and others within the culturally-defined achievement setting. Other factors such as degree of acculturation, number of years in the country are believed to have an impact on the relative strength of the preferred mode of achievement.

Additionally, the study sought to assess achievement motivation within this bicultural framework. The Bicultural Achievement Motivation Scale was used to identify the preferred mode of achievement. This scale permits the identification of the individual's achievement mode

in a culturally-defined setting, rather than the mere identification of children as high or low in achievement motivation.

Main Findings

The results of this research support the hypotheses of a joint effect of sex and ethnic group membership on mode of achievement. The general hypotheses are strongly supported by the results from the Bicultural Achievement Motivation Scale. These results show significant ethnic and sex differences in the relative strength of achievement for the benefit of self and others in the academic and home settings--with one exception. These results will be discussed at length in this section

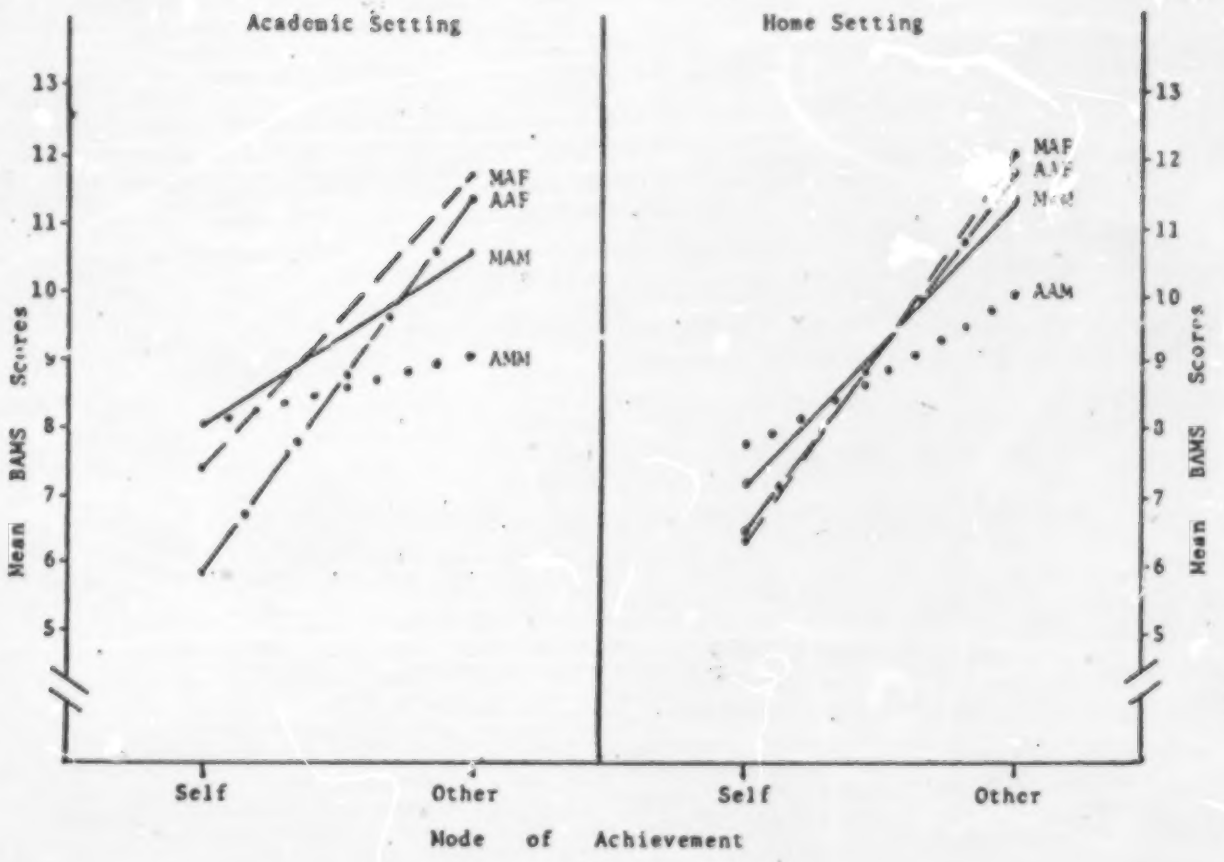
An overall examination of the mean values reveals a similar pattern for the four groups across the two achievement settings. The mean values for the groups increased from achievement for self to achievement for others. This may have been a function of the scale; however, in preliminary studies this trend did not occur. Consistent with the hypothesis, Mexican and Anglo American females had higher mean scores in achievement for others than the males in both the academic and home settings. (See Figure 1.)

The males from both ethnic groups had relatively similar scores in achievement for self in the academic and home settings. As predicted, they show a divergent pattern with regard to achievement for others in both settings. The Mexican American males show a relatively stronger orientation to achieve for others, particularly in the home setting--findings consistent with those of Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970), Moore (1970), and Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) with regard to the strong

Figure 1

Mean Scores on BAMS for the Four Groups

in Academic and Home Settings



MAF=Mexican American Female

MAM=Mexican American Male

AAF=Anglo American Female

AAM=Anglo American Male

emphasis placed on achievement for the benefit of the family in the Mexican American home. More specifically,

In the Academic Setting. The results supported the hypotheses of significant differences in the predicted direction: Mexican Americans scored relatively higher in achievement for others than the Anglo Americans. Additionally, females from both ethnic groups scored higher for others than the males. These results are consistent with the findings of Baruch (1967), Horner (1968), McClelland (1953), and Ramirez and Price-Williams (1971).

One of the unpredicted findings of this study is the significant interaction between ethnicity and sex in achievement for self in the academic setting. Unexpectedly, Anglo American females show a relatively lower need to achieve for self than the Mexican American females in this setting.

A possible explanation for this interaction may be that the majority of all students in this study tended to be from low SES families. It may be hypothesized that there is a stronger emphasis placed on achievement in school for the Mexican American female than the Anglo female. For the low SES Mexican American family, school may be seen as the only viable means of moving into a higher SES level.

This finding is in contrast to numerous studies which stress the low achievement motivation of Mexican American children (e.g., Heller, 1968, 1971). However, they are consistent with those of Anderson and Johnson (1968) with regard to contradicting the stereotype that Mexican families place little emphasis on education. Their findings show that

Mexican American children express a stronger desire to achieve in school than their Anglo peers. Moreover, they found that Mexican American children experience as much pressure from their parents to do well in school, complete high school, and attend college as their Anglo contemporaries.

Additionally, it seems from this study that the socialization of low SES Anglo females to avoid press for competitive excellence in schools may be stronger than previously imagined (French, 1951; Horner, 1968; and Lipman-Blumen, 1972). If this is true, it may be predicted that it is more socially acceptable for the low SES Anglo female to maintain a more passive, non-assertive role in the classroom than the Mexican American female. On the other hand, this pattern may be reversed for females from higher SES groups.

The findings which show significant differences between females and males in the academic setting are consistent with the general trend of research in this area. However, the conclusions that are drawn from these differences are too often negative and have been a misrepresentation of the achievement motive in females. An example of this type of misrepresentation is characterized by Callard (1969) who writes:

> It is possible...that boys are biologically predisposed to develop certain motives, such as achievement motive, while girls are predisposed to develop other motives, such as affiliation. (p. 20)

The fact that women show a stronger need to achieve for the benefit of others has been interpreted to mean that women's achievement activities and strivings are motivated by the need for approval and affection, while those of men are more autonomously determined by their own internal achievement standards and their need for self approval (Veroff,

1969). This approach is limited in that women, like men, may also be motivated by their own internal achievement standards and a need for self approval. It is the direction of their achievement motive (i.e., to achieve for the benefit of others) that may distinguish women from men in this regard. The relation between the two modes of achievement is not one of lower achievement motivation to higher, but rather one of coordination--both are functional and their development should be encouraged and recognized by the schools.

Another possible interpretation for ethnic and sex differences found in the academic setting may be understood as differences in competitive orientations as reflected in preferred mode of achievement. Differences in motivational incentives between Mexican American and Anglo American children have been studies through competition--cooperation tasks. Using an instrument designed to investigate cooperation and competition, Kagan and Madsen (1971, 1972) studied the behavior of Mexican, Mexican American and Anglo American children. Mexican and Mexican American children exhibited more cooperative behavior than Anglo American children in a task that rewarded cooperation. When the experiment gave the children a competitive set on the same task, Anglo children were more competitive than either the Mexican or Mexican American children. Thus, the results indicated that the Mexican American children were more highly motivated in the cooperative setting than in the competitive setting. Additionally, more Anglo American girls than boys were never rivalrous in the competitive settings. No consistent sex trends were observed for the Mexican children.

In the Home Setting. The results for the home setting show greater similarity among Anglo and Mexican American females and Mexican American males in mode of achievement than in the academic setting. Consistent with the findings in the academic setting, this can be attributed to the strong emphasis placed on family and home in the Mexican American socialization practices. It is interesting to note the differences between the males from the two ethnic groups. While the Mexican Americans show an increase in the relative strength to achieve for others in the home setting (as compared with the academic setting) the Anglo males show only a slight relative increase in achievement for others in the academic and home settings. Anglo males have the highest score for self and the lowest score for others in the home setting. This is in accordance with the socialization goals for the Anglo American males as depicted in the studies of Atkinson (1958); McClelland et al. (1953); Rosen (1959); Veroff (1969); and Winterbottom (1958). McClelland concluded as a result of his studies on achievement motivation that:

> The data we have to date strongly support the hypothesis that achievement motives develop in cultures and in families where there is an emphasis on the independent development of the individual. In contrast, low achievement motivation is associated with families in which the child is more dependent on his parents and subordinate in importance to them. (p. 328)

As previously mentioned, McClelland's studies failed to deal with the issue of whether or not a culture values the appropriate achievement behavior. Thus, it may be concluded that achievement for the benefit of self is consistent with the desire and goal to achieve for the Anglo American male.

Cross-cultural studies on the socialization patterns for women show an emphasis on the development of achievement for the benefit of others (Haavio-Mannila, 1967 and Hoffman, 1972). Although the Mexican American females had the highest relative need to achieve for others in both achievement settings, the differences between the females are less than expected.

A possible explanation for the high scores of the females in achievement for others may be found in the work of Lipman-Blumen (1972, 1974). She suggests that this type of achievement orientation is encouraged during the socialization period and leads to the development of a vicarious mode of achievement; i.e., women find fulfillment of their achievement needs primarily through the accomplishments of their family. Her research confirms the impact of early socialization which encourages satisfaction of achievement needs through passive identification with the accomplishments of others. Lipman-Blumen found that women transferred the vicarious mode of achievement to their husbands when they married. The survey data showed that:

> ...a majority of all the women in the sample, both in the contemporary and in the traditional categories sought to satisfy their achievement needs vicariously....Relatively few seemed to prefer the balanced mode in which the accomplishments of the husband and wife had equal weight. (p. 36)

Another interpretation of the achievement motive in women can be found in the work of Horner (1968, 1973). She explains the dynamics of female motivation as an approach-avoidance conflict: while women may have a strong need to achieve, there is a strong fear that achievement will bring with it some form of social rejection from peers,

particularly of the opposite sex. Consequently she concludes that low aspirations in women are due to a prevailing fear of success and the social rejection that may coincide with achievement endeavors.

While these studies do not actually deal with the motive to achieve for the benefit of others, but rather the motive to achieve through the accomplishments and achievements of others, they do suggest the need to look at the sensitive area of socialization practices of the home and school. This issue is one that needs to be handled with caution and understanding in order to avoid possible conflicts between the values of the home and school.

With regard to sex-typing of children, one may ask how much influence the school has as compared with the home. Minuchin (1965) and Minuchin, et al. (1969) studies children's sex-typed behavior and attitudes traditional and progressive homes and schools. They found that the progressive homes and schools did not emphasize fixed appropriate behavior; traditional homes and schools did. Minuchin, et al. (1969) found that although the home influence for sex-typing was stronger, the school's philosophy for sex appropriate behavior had significant effects on the children's sex-role preferences, sex-typed activities and differences between boys' and girls' display of aggression. They concluded that the school's sex-typing does contribute to the general socialization of its children.

The same situation occurs with regard to differing values of the home and school. This present study was based on the assumption that schools reinforce a motivation to achieve which stresses values alien to the traditional Mexican American child and from the results

of this study these values apparently are also alien to other children, particularly females. In order to bridge the gap between these school policies and practices and the cultural dynamics of the students from different cultural and ethnic groups; i.e., in the sense that the school reflects an understanding and acceptance of differences in the incentives underlying achievement motivation, there is a need for the systematic exploration and delineation of cultural and sex differences among school populations.

In order to provide an educational learning environment which encourages bicultural and balanced sex role development, the schools must develop new approaches to teaching, reorganization of the existing curriculum, and the training and retraining of personnell with a new orientation (Deslondes, 1975). This new orientation would imply a background and exposure to psychological, sociological, and anthropological theory and understanding of the relationship between culture and behavior.

One area for change is that of the textbooks; the obvious issue being raised is one of the defining sex appropriate domains and available cultural role models. The girl too often finds other females in school either in front of the chalkboard or wrapped in an apron in a storybook. If we expect and desire females to participate fully in our society, it must be recognized that there is a definite lack of adequate role models which will complicate the already difficult process of succeeding at a non-traditionally sex appropriate skill or profession (Bell, 1970).

Mexican American children experience the same type of problems with regard to stereotyped models in the textbooks. Cortes (1971) reviewed a dozen popular U.S. History textbooks used in California

secondary schools only to find "little in the texts which would contribute to the pride of the young Chicano, but much that could assault his ego and reinforce the concept of Anglo superiority." To counteract this type of negative stereotyping found in textbooks, teachers must be encouraged to enhance their curricula with bicultural materials which generate self-esteen through appreciation of cultural heritage.

Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) suggest that heritage curriculum, like language, is essential for improving self-esteem. They cite the study of Alvarez and Ramirez (1970) in which Mexican American children who had received lessons in Mexican and Mexican American heritage scored significantly higher on the Coopersmith Self Inventory than a comparable group of children who received no such instruction.

Discussion of Results from Language Usage Index and Bicultural Achievement Motivation Scale

The results from the analysis of intracultural variability in mode of achievement are consistent with those for the entire sample: The scores on the BAMS were more closely related to the sex of the Mexican American students than to degree of language dominance; i.e., sex was the major predictor of the achievement motive. Thus, the likelihood was greater that females would show a significantly stronger need to achieve for others than males in both the academic and home settings.

On the other hand, language dominance showed a similar kind of relationship to mode of achievement within the females and males. The Spanish dominant females did show the highest relative achievement

score for others in both settings. The English dominant females were clearly more aligned with the Spanish dominant males in achievement for others than either of the other two female groups. This finding was in accord with the fact that the expression of traditional Mexican American values may be relatively stable with regard to language dominance for females and males. While the Spanish dominant females clearly show a relatively stronger need to achieve for others, the Spanish dominant males are clearly more oriented to achieve for others than the Anglo males, particularly in the home setting (Madsen, 1963). This is also consistent with the traditional Mexican American values to achieve for the benefit of the family. These findings are in accord with those of Ramirez and Price-Williams (1974) who found that traditional Mexican American children appear to be motivated to achieve for the family. This contrasts with McClelland's results that Anglo American males who exhibit a high need to achieve are oriented to achieve for self. The findings of this study are also in accordance with those for Hawaiian high school males (Gallimore, 1968), women (Lipman-Blumen, 1972), and Japanese and Japanese Americans (Caudill and DeVos, 1956; DeVos, 1968). In general, these researchers have presented evidence of the limited applicability of McClelland-Atkinson model for achievement motivation to widely diverse cultural groups when factors other than need achievement are taken into account. Castañeda (1974) states that the more acculturated individuals will tend to experience socialization practices which stress independence training as defined by McClelland, et al. (1953). These individuals may have a limited ethnic identification and show a preference for a competitive reward structure in the achievement setting.

It would appear that the relationship between language dominance as a possible measure of acculturation and mode of achievement depend not only on language dominance but also on the sex of the individual. Although highly plausible, these interpretations must remain conjectural until additional investigations concerning language correlates of achievement motivation are conducted. Such research should include a more rigorous investigation of the students' cultural identification. As of yet, however, there is not a test which accurately assesses cultural identification.

Educational Implications

The significance and educational implications of this study have been recently discussed by numerous social scientists (DeVos, 1966; Lipman-Blumen, 1973; Maehr, 1974; and Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974). These writers have expressed a growing concern with the basic assumptions underlying the theory of achievement motivation (Atkinson, 1958, 1965, and McClelland, et al., 1953, 1961). This concern is based on recent research which suggests that the reasons underlying achievement-oriented behavior may differ from culture to culture. The possibility that cultural reasons may account for variability in achievement orientation among Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans has only recently been implied (Maehr, 1974 and Ramirez and Castañeda, 1974). The present research shows in fact that these differences are real and must be examined further. In order for educational practitioners to design more effective reinforcement and motivational strategies for children of diverse cultural backgrounds, information derived from this type of study is critical and essential.

An important implication of these findings is that there are sociocultural differences in the reasons why individuals are motivated to achieve. As educators and psychologists are attempting to deal with the issue of motivating students in the classroom, it seems important to consider the findings of this study. The Mexican American child is too often described as "passive," "difficult to motivate," "disinterested in academic success," etc. Heller (1966, 1971) contends that Mexican American children are socialized in an environment which "fails to stress the motive to achieve." The results of this present study tend to refute this negative perspective. All children are motivated to achieve--as educators we must tap the reasons for their achievement, be it for the benefit of self or for others.

Other implications of this study concern the professional training of teachers who are engaged in bilingual-bicultural classrooms. Since variation in mode of achievement seems to be related to ethnic group membership, sex of the student and to some degree, language dominance (as a possible measure of acculturation), educators should find this information useful in their efforts to familiarize teachers about inter and intracultural sources of variability. Such efforts could include helping these teachers-in-training to become more aware of differences in motivational styles in order to reinforce students' achievements and how to modify on these differences to provide meaningful incentives for the students in the classroom. For example, a student who is more traditional in orientation might tend to be more motivated to achieve in a cooperative environment. A teacher who is sensitive to this may utilize the information in such a way as to encourage the development

of both modes of achievement. This development would be more plausible in an educational situation where the student felt secure; i.e., a Spanish dominant student in Spanish language arts class. In this type of situation a student who is motivated to achieve for the benefit of others might be encouraged to achieve for the benefit of self. In order to promote bicultural individuals, it is necessary for the schools to foster the development of both modes of achievement, rather than to encourage one over the other.

These findings could also be useful not only to teachers, in the classroom, but also to employers and counselors who attempt to guide students into appropriate vocations. Those individuals who favor one mode of achievement over another might tend to favor certain occupations. This is an area for further reason and qualification.

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